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THE SHAME AND HOPE OF THE CITIES

THE EDITORS

THE EXPLODING METROPOLIS

HANS BLUMENFELD

World Events SCOTT NEARING

EDITORS . . . LEO HUBERMAN . . . PAUL M. SWEEZY

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NOTES FROM THE EDITORS

Many readers have urged us to publish in combined form the various articles on China which have appeared in MR during the last few months. Acceding to these suggestions, Monthly Review Press has produced a booklet, under the title *China Shakes the World Again*, containing the contributions of Charles Bettelheim, René Dumont, K. S. Gill, and D. D. Kosambi, to which has been added the February Review of the Month on the Communes. The booklet is now ready for distribution. It will be sent free of charge to all Associates, and the price to others is one dollar a copy.

China is one of the great events in the lifetime of all of us, and we tried to shape the publishing program of MR Press with a clear recognition of this in mind. Agnes Smedley's *The Great Road* gives, through the life and eyes of one of the leaders of the Revolution, the historical background needed to understand recent events. Solomon Adler's *The Chinese Economy* is the first and we believe still the best description in English of the economic system of the new China. And now *China Shakes the World Again* puts the spotlight on the "big leap forward" and the formation of the Communes. We would like to see these three works circulated, read, and discussed as widely as possible—not to make a profit for MR Press but to educate the people of America about a crucial problem that will have much to do with deciding the future of the United States. Hence we are offering a China Special—the three books as a package at less than half their combined published price, $6.00 instead of $12.75. For details, see ad on page 475. And please appoint yourself a committee of one to see that this offer is taken maximum advantage of.

Every year in May, MR has a birthday party. This year's will be a very special occasion because it marks our tenth anniversary, and we have arranged a special program in a special place. The speakers will be Professor Paul A. Baran of Stanford who will speak on "Marxism and Psychoanalysis" and Professor Stanley Moore, formerly of Reed College, who will speak on

(*continued on inside back cover*)

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THE SHAME AND HOPE OF THE CITIES

American cities are in a mess. The mess is getting worse. Barring a totally unexpected reversal of present trends, a series of breakdowns and crises is inevitable.

These statements could be endlessly documented. We have collected a file of clippings, from which we select the following items almost at random. In the case of each quotation we have retained the headline or title of the article from which it is taken, and added a brief comment at the end.

SNARL-UP ALERTS CLEVELAND

On the Friday after Thanksgiving—always a heavy shopping day in downtown stores—Cleveland had its first snowfall of the winter.

The snow was neither unexpected (it had been forecast for 24 hours) nor particularly heavy (4 inches).

But the combination of extra shoppers' cars and slushy streets projected the city into a monumental traffic jam.

Outbound cars and buses were locked tight in lines which stretched unbroken and unmoving for miles on every major street leading out of the downtown area.

Trips that generally take a half hour or less took two, three, or even four hours.

Actually, bad traffic jams are rare in Cleveland. Most days traffic moves with an ease which surprises out-of-towners.

But it takes very little to remind Clevelanders that there is no margin of safety. Anything that imposes even the most trivial extra burden on the city's streets—a sports event or a few snowflakes—can turn relative order into wild confusion. [Tom Boardman in *The Christian Science Monitor*, December 20, 1958. This article was one of a series on the commuting problem in various American cities.]

Cleveland is, of course, not unique. The same situation exists in nearly all big American cities. All the trends that produced it are continuing to operate. What it will turn into a few years hence few people seem to care to contemplate.

CITY'S 'CREEPING SLUMS' OUTPACE ITS HOUSING PROGRAM

More than a million of New York's 8,000,000 residents are slum dwellers despite the fact that this city has torn down more

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slum buildings in the last ten years than any other American metropolis. . . .

Mr. Moses' overall program . . . would redevelop a total of 905 slum acres over the next decade and provide 65,000 new apartments. . . .

This ambitious program would—if the money were forthcoming—clear about one-eighth of the existing slum acreage, without necessarily halting the formation of new slums. [Charles Grutzner in *The New York Times,* News of the Week Section, November 30, 1958.]

"Without necessarily halting the formation of new slums" is a classic of understatement. Clearance projects of the type in which Mr. Moses specializes rarely house as many as are displaced, and at least some of the units are too expensive for the former residents. How can the program possibly avoid *promoting* the formation of new slums?

SPREAD OF SLUMS IN CITY FORESEEN

Slums will march from downtown business districts to the suburbs in New York and twelve other major cities, according to a paper published yesterday by the Committee for Economic Development.

This gloomy evaluation was made by Dr. Raymond Vernon, director of the New York Metropolitan Region Study. He saw a "gray belt" of urban decay spreading from downtown skyscrapers to the city line. . . .

His conclusions were pessimistic:

"The outward movement of people will be matched by an outward movement of jobs. Retail trade will follow the populations. Manufacturing and wholesaling establishments will continue to respond to obsolescence by looking for new quarters and by renting in structures in the suburban industrial areas where obsolescence is less advanced. The movement of jobs will reinforce the movement of residences." [Homer Bigart in *The New York Times,* February 22, 1959.]

What Dr. Vernon is describing is private enterprise in operation. Each individual, each firm seeks its own advantage. If the result is social waste, disorganization, and decay, at any rate no one intended it and no one can be held responsible. And clearly, in Dr. Vernon's view, no one can be expected to do anything about it.

URBAN RUIN—OR URBAN RENEWAL?

It is up to everyone to face the hard truth that the American dream is tarnishing, the American way of life becoming a mirage, for tens of millions of our fellow citizens who live in cities.

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Bushels of statistics have been published to spread the alarm on urban blight, but the response has been slight. Perhaps we need fewer statistics and instead a few good old-fashioned walking tours: walks through the slums, up the stinking stairways into the overcrowded, shabby rooms; walks through the run-down commercial areas, taking care to glance above the first-floor fronts at the dusty windows of the deserted upper floors; walks through the oil-soaked, dreary factory lofts built before the assembly line was even heard of. The filth, the misery and the danger are all there—easy to see and, once seen, impossible to forget.

Today's slums seem to touch the lives and pocketbooks of the suburbanites and other noncity dwellers lightly, if at all. Not so the slums of tomorrow. The prospects are awesome. If present trends are allowed to continue, 30,000,000 Americans will be living in slums by 1975. Further neglect of the cities now is going to cost taxpayers, individual and corporate, untold billions by then—and everybody will be paying for them. [Edward L. Logue, Development Administrator of New Haven, in the *New York Times Magazine,* November 9, 1958.]

Mr. Logue touches on the explanation of why so little is done about a set of problems which is well known not only to experts but to every alert observer of the American scene The ruling class in America consists largely of "suburbanites and other noncity dwellers." Why should they bother—at least until they begin to have to pay those untold billions? Or until the political pressure from the city dwellers forces them to, which is certainly not the case now?

THE REAL COSTS OF URBAN RENEWAL

. . . almost two trillion dollars by 1970.*

The real costs of urban renewal are almost beyond cities' and citizens' comprehension. . . .

Despite all efforts being made by public and private enterprise, cities are deteriorating at a faster rate than they are being renewed through new construction, repair or maintenance. Not one city is known to have a program so complete as to be able to renew at even the same rate that its deterioration takes place. . . .

Should there be early recognition of the common problem,

* This being the way the article starts, the three dots on this line do not indicate an omission. Two trillion by 1970 works out to more than $150 billion per annum, which is about one third of the current Gross National Product. Professor Isaacs thinks of this as being largely borne by private enterprise and individuals but insists that "necessary Federal participation expenditures alone will rival those for national security," which would put the figure at somewhere around $40 billion a year. At the present time, federal outlays for urban renewal and housing amount to only a few hundred million a year.

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> adequate research, consumer re-education, comprehensive planning and programming, and purposeful cooperation between governments, the costs can be appreciably less.
>
> The alternatives are unacceptable: Urban bankruptcy, state-administered receiverships along with vastly increased Federal spending.
>
> Beyond these are the final alternatives of social disorder, disintegration, and economic chaos. [Reginald R. Isaacs, Chairman of the Department of City and Regional Planning, Harvard University, in *Problems of United States Economic Development,* Vol. 1, Committee for Economic Development, 1958.]

No doubt Professor Isaacs is right that the alternatives, not to mention the "final alternatives," are unacceptable. But that doesn't change the fact that we are headed straight for them all the same.

It is against this somber background of facts and trends that we urge you to read and ponder the article which begins on page 476 of this issue of MONTHLY REVIEW. The subject is a recently published book entitled *The Exploding Metropolis* by William H. Whyte, Jr. (of "Organization Man" fame) and a number of his fellow editors of *Fortune* magazine. The author of the article is Hans Blumenfeld, Assistant Commissioner of the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board, one of the leading North American authorities on the economics and sociology of urban development and a man with a vast fund of practical experience in city planning.

Whyte and his collaborators have written a well-informed and highly readable work on the plight of American cities. Blumenfeld recommends it as the best available introduction to the subject. And yet, paradoxically, the very excellence of the book provides grounds for gloomy forebodings about the future. The *Fortune* editors are well aware of the staggering magnitude of the problems facing American cities, and we must assume that as intelligent people they know that policies, to be effective, must be scaled to the problems intended to be dealt with. What are we to think, then, when we find that their policy recommendations are—as Blumenfeld demonstrates beyond any possibility of refutation—pitifully and even grotesquely inadequate?

There would seem to be two possibilities: (1) The *Fortune* editors, for all their research and knowledge, are so limited by ideological preconceptions and prejudices that they cannot bring themselves to face the implications of their own analysis. (2) They feel that there is no point in making recommendations which they know in advance would be unacceptable to the ruling-class audience to which the book

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was originally and primarily addressed. We suspect that both of these explanations are relevant, though of course we have no way of knowing their relative importance. This matters very little, however, since either explanation points to a total unpreparedness on the part of the American ruling class to cope with the emerging urban crisis.

In these circumstances radicals have an important role to play. They should, in Paul Baran's apt phrase, resolutely confront reality with reason and come forward with a program designed to solve the problem regardless of ideological preconceptions or the interests and susceptibilities of the powers that be. Naturally, such a program is not going to be adopted now or in the near future. But if it is reasonable and adequate, if it shows the way out of an otherwise deepening crisis, then its power to command attention and eventually to make converts is certain to grow with the passage of time.

In seeking such a program it would be hard to find a better starting point than Hans Blumenfeld's article below. For the most part, the article is devoted to a critique of the views and proposals of Whyte and his colleagues. But near the end, Blumenfeld, having noted the disparity between the *Fortune* editors' analysis and their prescription, raises the question of what is needed to solve the problems of metropolitan development. The answer, he thinks, is quite plain, and he sums it up in the form of four requirements: "(1) Metropolitan government; (2) adequate financial resources; (3) public ownership of all or most of the development land; and (4) a large program of public housing on open land."

Blumenfeld is absolutely right to emphasize that these conditions do not require socialism, that all of them have been realized in capitalist democracies. Socialism means public or cooperative ownership not only of the land but also of enough of the means of production to make possible comprehensive and effective economic planning on a national scale. Public ownership of urban development land falls very far short of this requirement; a country in which it exists can have an economy which in essentials is as unplanned and market-dominated as that of the United States today. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to underestimate the magnitude of the changes that would be necessary, *under the conditions existing in the United States,* for Blumenfeld's four requirements to be realized. Let us look at them a little more closely.

1. *Metropolitan government.* It is a commonplace that most metropolitan areas in the United States are a crazy patchwork of

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governmental units—federal, state, county, often many municipalities and townships, school districts, sewer districts, special authorities, and so on and on. The result, in the words of Luther Gulick, a leading authority in this field, is that "government is now falling down on its part of the job . . . because the major tasks are not now assigned to any level of government [he has cited the telling example of planning an integrated transportation system], and those tasks which are partly assigned are split up into undoable fractions among jurisdictions which are politically and economically incapable of functioning as to these problems."* This is, of course, an utterly irrational setup, and its rectification through the establishment of responsible metropolitan-area governments is a first prerequisite, a *sine qua non,* of any successful attack on the urban crisis. Given the structure of American politics, however, this is an extremely difficult thing to achieve. Every petty governmental unit is the repository and expression of stubborn vested interests. They are not likely to give up their respective identities unless subjected to *force majeure,* or at any rate very strong pressure, from above. But higher levels of government are so constituted as to give power to shifting coalitions of particularistic and parochial interests, with the result that pressure from above is simply not forthcoming. Under these circumstances, no advance planning, no action to avert the threat of catastrophe seems possible.** Of course, action will *have* to be taken, probably in the form of state "receiverships," when catastrophe arrives, but on the basis of the record to date there is little to justify a more optimistic view.

How could this situation be changed? So far as we can see, the best hope is the emergence of a labor party with some sort of centralized structure and discipline—*and,* of course, with a meaningful program. Such a party could at least initiate action at the national and state levels, and political competition might force others to fall in line. There may be other possibilities, but they do not now occur to us.

2. *Adequate financial resources.* If Isaacs is anywhere near right about the costs of an adequate urban program, we can safely

* Luther Gulick in *Problems of United States Economic Development,* Vol. 1, cited above.

** Ironically, where there has been a movement toward metropolitan government, chiefly in the South, it has had the purpose of enabling white suburbs to curb growing Negro political power in the city proper. On the increasingly important racial aspect of the urban crisis, see the excellent article "Metropolitan Segregation," by Morton Grodzins in *Scientific American,* October 1957.

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say that nothing of the sort is or soon will be possible unless we also have a substantial measure of disarmament. We cannot discuss this subject in the present context, but MR readers know that we have never had any illusions that it is possible to turn arms spending off and welfare spending on the way one does with the hot and cold water. The whole socio-political structure of the country creates an enormously strong bias in favor of arms spending, and it is difficult to envisage a shiftover except as the outcome of a long, hard political struggle. Here again we can see little prospect of progress unless or until a labor party is formed and enters the political arena with a peace-oriented international policy and a welfare-oriented domestic program

(3) *Public ownership of all or most of the development land.* We take it that "development land" means land within the metropolitan area which is usable for residential, commercial, or public purposes but which for one reason or another—usually speculative—has not been developed. There is obviously a good deal of such land in and near most American cities, but all the same this requirement is a long way from complete public ownership of the land. Moreover, if development land were bought up by metropolitan (and/or state and national) governments after the initiation of comprehensive and rational zoning and taxation systems, there is no reason why the public should not get its money's worth and at the same time avoid unfairly discriminatory treatment of landowners.

Such a program of limited public ownership of land is perfectly compatible with capitalism, and, as Blumenfeld points out, has been widely adopted in Europe and to a certain extent in Canada. But let no one underestimate the resistance it would meet in this country. As Veblen never tired of emphasizing, the whole American mentality has been to a peculiar degree molded by real estate speculation, and there can hardly be anything more alien to the "American way of life" than the idea of land prices based on actual use value. Here as in the case of requirements (1) and (2), there would seem to be little chance of successful realization unless those who actually live and work in cities but have no land of their own to profit from get behind a political party which not only proclaims its devotion to their welfare but also is organized in a manner to be able to do something about it.

(4) *A large program of public housing on open land.* This requirement is, of course, closely related to the preceding two, namely,

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adequate financial resources and public ownership of development land, and it would run into the same kind of obstacles. But it would also arouse the bitter hostility of slum landlords and those who own property in the decaying sectors of the cities. The former have a vested interest in the housing shortage, and the latter want all public projects to be tied to clearance because clearance creates a market for run-down and depreciating property. Once again, we do not see how the requirements can be fulfilled unless a new type of political party enters the lists to fight for the interests of consumers rather than owners.

Joan Robinson has somewhere remarked that a political movement strong enough to reform capitalism would also be strong enough to introduce socialism. This may be an exaggeration, but for the United States at any rate the element of exaggeration is probably considerably smaller than might at first appear. For, as the preceding discussion shows, in this country the effective reform of capitalism even in only one of its aspects—though to be sure a very important one—would require the institution of responsible government, and this is something that the American ruling class from the time of the Founding Fathers has always fought against tooth and nail. Checks and balances, states rights, local autonomy, political cartels rather than political parties—all these are integral parts of a system designed to make the country a utopia for the private sovereignties of property and business. Can we really be so sure that it is an exaggeration to say that a movement strong enough to master this political anarchy and replace it by a system of responsible government would also be strong enough to socialize these private sovereignties?

This is certainly an interesting topic for speculation, but it would take us too far afield to pursue it here. There is, however, another question which we could hardly avoid raising in the context of the present discussion: So far as the urban problem is concerned, is there any reason why we should *want* to go beyond the kind of reforms that are outlined by Blumenfeld? Has socialism anything to offer that cannot be achieved by the more limited approach?

This is a question to which, unfortunately, Blumenfeld does not address himself in the article below. But the answer, in its main outlines even if not in matters of detail and emphasis, seems to us to be reasonably plain even to a nonexpert in this field.

The program advanced by Blumenfeld, if put into practice, would halt the present headlong rush to disaster. It offers the prospect of decent and livable urban environments. It tells us how to

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react intelligently to the forces and trends that are now shaping the American metropolis. But what it does not tell us is how to *control* those forces and trends, how to make them serve our purposes, how to build not merely decent and livable urban environments but truly civilized and civilizing communities. Only under socialism, we submit, do these higher goals come within the realm of the attainable.

The reason for this is basically simple. At the heart of the urban crisis is a social process which can perhaps be most aptly compared to the physiological process of cancer growth. Once started, the growth of the cancer becomes a self-contained and self-perpetuating process without object or function in relation to the body in which it exists. If unchecked, it eventually kills the host body and hence also itself. Something similar is happening in the case of our cities. The initiating cause was the automobile which impinged upon an urban structure that had taken shape in an era of railroads, street cars, and subways. At first very gradually and then with gathering speed a new travel and residential pattern developed. Originally, this was geared to the existing urban economy, but at a certain stage a characteristic dialectical transformation took place: instead of *serving* the urban economy, the new travel and residential pattern came to *dominate* it. With this transformation, the process was freed from any rational or meaningful relation to the health or needs of society as a whole and began to follow an inner logic of its own. Economic functions moved out of the core city to the expanding periphery, despoiling the countryside as they progressed and leaving stagnation and decay in their wake. Like the growth of a cancer, the process became self-contained and self-perpetuating—and like a cancer it is both meaningless and a threat to the life of the larger society which harbors it.

What the end product of this uncontrolled cancerous growth will be like can be most clearly seen in Los Angeles. Here is the way Harrison Salisbury, in a notable series of articles which appeared after this Review of the Month was already in draft, introduces a description of Los Angeles today:

> Here, nestled under its blanket of smog, girdled by bands of freeways, its core eviscerated by concrete strips and asphalt fields, its circulatory arteries pumping away without focus, lies the prototype of Gasopolis, the rubber-wheeled living region of the future.
>
> Los Angeles is no longer a city as the term has been conventionally defined. Sam S. Taylor, general manager of Los Angeles traffic, calls Los Angeles a "mobile region."

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> For anyone looking toward the future, toward the end result of full autofication of the American metropolis, Los Angeles is the phenomenon to analyze most carefully.
>
> When Lincoln Steffens went to the Soviet Union just after the Bolshevik Revolution he proclaimed, "I have seen the future—and it works"'
>
> Today's visitor to Los Angeles might paraphrase Steffens and say: "I have seen the future—and it doesn't work." [*New York Times,* March 3, 1959.]

Los Angeles is unique, but only in being ahead of all the others, not in the direction in which it is moving. Each one in its own way and at its own pace is on the way to becoming a larger or smaller "gasopolis"—an amorphous, unstructured, unstable mass of humanity, like molten lava aimlessly churning about inwardly and inexorably spilling over outwardly, spreading blight and destruction over the surrounding countryside.

This process can never be arrested, let alone reversed, by the kind of half-way measures discussed above. They can channel it, remove or soften its worst features, make it bearable. But to bring it under control and then to transform it into something new and radically different—into a renaissance of urban culture and civilization on a plane corresponding to the technological potentialities of the twentieth century—this can be achieved only on the basis of comprehensive and effective economic planning.

The automobile started the process of urban sprawl and decay, but what keeps it going and makes it ever worse is the shiftless and socially irresponsible movement of private trade and industry in search of maximum profit. Recall the passage quoted above from Dr. Raymond Vernon, director of the New York Metropolitan Region Study: "The outward movement of people will be matched by an outward movement of jobs. Retail trade will follow the populations. Manufacturing and wholesaling establishments will continue to respond to obsolescence by looking for new quarters and by renting in structures in the suburban industrial areas where obsolescence is less advanced. The movement of jobs will reinforce the movement of residences."

This is the heart of the matter. Residences and jobs move in a mutually reinforcing process which drives on without aim or purpose, leaving one kind of blight behind it and creating another ahead of it.

There is one way and only one way that this can be brought under control, stopped, reversed, transformed. That is by controlling the job pattern in the social interest, not leaving it to emerge as a

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by-product of the profit-seeking decisions of tens and hundreds of thousands of private businesses. And that in turn means economic planning in the full, socialist sense of the term.

With a rational job pattern planned and assured for years ahead, urban renewal can become something more than the cruelly deceptive slogan it now is. Population densities, which in a very real sense determine everything else, can be controlled, foreseen, and properly provided for. Downtown, about which Whyte and his colleagues write with so much nostalgia, can be restored to its rightful place as the heart and brain of the city. A transportation system can be constructed using to the full the marvellous potentialities of electronics and automation, which will make it possible for people to get into and out of and around the metropolis rapidly and comfortably while still leaving the streets for residents and pedestrians to *enjoy*. Under these circumstances, but certainly not before, it will be possible at long last to tackle the problem of making the automobile our servant instead of our master.

All this and much more is possible. In sober fact, the prospects for a great urban renaissance have never been more brilliant than they are now But he who wills the end must will the means—and the means can only be socialism.

(March 10, 1959)

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THE EXPLODING METROPOLIS

BY HANS BLUMENFELD

This series of six articles by the editors of *Fortune* has reached the American public in three different versions: first, lavishly illustrated with graphs, charts, photos, drawings, and reproductions of paintings, in beautiful colors, it was presented to the élite readers of *Fortune;* then as a hard-cover book, with fair-sized illustrations in black and white, to the middlebrows; and finally as a pocket-sized paperback, but still with the illustrations, to the mass market.*

By this interesting process of cultural diffusion the authors may hope to achieve their aim to reach "every one." Says the jacket: "The city and the countryside grow ever more abstract, dehumanized, and joyless. The subject . . . concerns everyone who finds no home for himself in the bewildering jumble of our present American cities and their suburbs." This might lead one to expect another chant of the long Jeremiad against the "Big Wen" which has accompanied the growing urbanization of Western society for 300 years.

This time, however, the approach is reversed. While the book, like its many predecessors, views with alarm the growth of the metropolis, this time the alarm is sounded not primarily against the assault *of* urbanism, but against the assault *on* urbanism. The subtitle reads: "A study of the assault on urbanism and how our cities can resist it"; and the book opens with the sentence: "This is a book by people who like cities."

The chief editor, William H. Whyte, Jr., has contributed an introduction and two articles, entitled "Are Cities Un-American?" and "Urban Sprawl"; four articles by other authors deal with transportation, municipal government, slums, and downtown. All of the articles are written in a very clever and lively fashion; the illustrations are well chosen, often fascinating and highly instructive. There is sharp and often searching criticism of the ways in which the American metropolis is presently developing. The ideas reflect the current

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Hans Blumenfeld is Assistant Commissioner of the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board.

* *The Exploding Metropolis,* by the Editors of *Fortune.* Doubleday Anchor Books. Garden City, New York, 1958. 168 pp. and index. 95 cents.

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thinking of advanced and sensitive planners and architects. It is therefore curious that the authors put the blame for most existing evils on the "specialists" and appeal against them to "the citizens"—meaning, as becomes clear from the examples cited, business and political leaders. "The most immediate and drastic re-evaluation of our development programs" is demanded. However, the very emphasis on immediacy implies that these drastic measures are to be carried through without any changes in legal or political forms, let alone in the social-economic content of metropolitan life. Even so modest a reform as the establishment of metropolitan government is expressly rejected. The book is a classical example of what Gyorgy Lukacs has aptly termed "apologetic criticism."

The popular slogan "the exploding metropolis" has a revolutionary ring. Explosion implies not only a sudden, violent, one-time event, but also the definite destruction of the exploding object. And yet the rapid spread of the population at the periphery of cities and the much slower decrease of population at their center have been going on for at least a hundred years. This process, far from destroying the center of the metropolis, has meant an ever growing extension and intensification of its dominance over the periphery. "Center" and "periphery" are not mutually exclusive but dialectically united opposites.

However, while metropolitan expansion is a long, steady, typically evolutionary process, this cumulative quantitative growth is now being transformed into a qualitative change. The city, which for six thousand years has existed as one basic form of human settlement, together with and opposed to the country, is transmuted into a completely new form of human settlement: the metropolitan area—or "metropolis" for short—which is neither city nor country, but partakes of the characteristics of both. Historically, the city has been the seat of rulers and leaders, with those immediately serving them; while the vast majority of the popoulation lived in the countryside, and the bulk of the world's work was done there.

But in modern industrial societies this relation is reversed. While the center of the metropolis—popularly known as the "City" with a capital C—is still, and more than ever, the seat of political, economic, and spiritual (if that is the right term for Madison Avenue) power, the metropolis is also, and primarily, the residence of the majority of the population and the main locus of production.

The fact that this new form of human settlement is "neither city nor country" is hurled at it as an accusation by the authors of *The*

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Exploding Metropolis, as by many others. All these want to escape from the big, complex, and unprecedented problems of the metropolis. The escape they seek is in two directions: there is romantic longing for a return to the country and an equally romantic longing for "urbanity," for return to the city (or of the city). This is very ably expressed by the *Fortune* editors who "like cities."

Thus the authors of *The Exploding Metropolis,* while misinterpreting the evolutionary process of expansion as a revolutionary "explosion," fail to understand the revolutionary character of its product, the metropolis, as a radically new form of human settlement. They think in conventional terms of "city" versus "suburbs." But in the modern metropolitan area these concepts lose their meaning. The entire area can only be understood as one unit, spreading from the center in increasingly newer and less intensely used rings; and it can be meaningfully analyzed only in terms of these concentric rings.

As in practically all city-versus-suburbs discussions, the term "city" is used ambiguously. Thus Whyte defines "the values that since the beginning of civilization have always been at the heart of the big city" as "variety and concentration, its tension, its hustle and bustle." Here "city" means the central district with the immediately surrounding high-density residential areas, practically within walking distance. But in the following page he adopts as a "working definition . . . the area within the city limits." This is *not* a workable definition. The two concepts are far from identical. The first includes only a small fraction of the second. Hence Whyte's following statement that "there are fundamental differences between the city and the metropolitan area around it" is misleading. Fundamental differences there are indeed between areas within the metropolis, but they have very little to do with the political limits of the city.

Fortunately, Whyte and his collaborators are far too intelligent people to be hamstrung by their faulty basic concepts. "One should not, of course," says Whyte, "speak of the city as if it were separate from the metropolis around it." There is much truth in his criticism of the satellite-town dream, of FHA policies, of architects' egocentric infatuation with "high-rise" buildings, of housing and redevelopment projects consisting of huge blocks arranged in mechanical paper patterns. He repeats the often-made observation that "the city is becoming a place of extremes—a place for the very poor, or the very rich, or the slightly odd," with an increasing part of the middle class living in the suburbs. But does all this happen because people "hate cities,"

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or because architects crib Le Corbusier, or because "private housing copies public housing"? If one million people are already crowded into the city, where can an additional two or three million find room except in the suburbs? It is rather silly to call this a "flight to the suburbs." On the other hand, the poor, who can afford only second-hand —or twenty-second hand—housing, have to stay in the city because there are no old houses in the suburbs. And if you, like Whyte, advocate "urban redevelopment," which means to buy and demolish 200 or 300 dwelling units just to get one acre of building land, what else can you expect the developer, be he public or private, to do but pile 200 or more new ones on top of one another?

Under the provocative title "Are Cities Un-American?", Whyte has some very pertinent things to say about the sterile institutional appearance of housing and redevelopment projects, about the "myth of middle-income housing" (at $50 per room), about the squeezing out of the small store by the shopping center. He also states frankly that "most neighborhood improvement associations are set up primarily to fight Negro 'block-busting.' " Nevertheless, his analysis and proposals avoid the crucial issues. His tendency to blame it all on the "technicians" has been well answered by Elizabeth Wood, the former Director of the Chicago Housing Authority, who recently stated: "There has been much complaining about the institutionalism of our large-scale developments, especially of public housing. It is not a matter of the sterility of architects and their imaginations. It is a matter of the sterility of the assignments we have given our architects."* Whyte's answer to the fake middle-income housing is the demand for a "vigorous subsidy program" for the same kind of housing, without a word about invigorating the all-but-strangled subsidy program for housing of low-income families, for whom the alternative to subsidized housing is not a suburban mortgage manor but a rat-infested slum. The book's answer to racial segregation boils down to a preference for segregating the Negro middle class from the Negro proletariat. And the reason for the suppression of small stores in favor of shopping centers is given by Whyte as "function must follow form." Presumably it has nothing to do with the function of the shopping center to pay profitable rents to the developer.

Whyte perceives that residence in the "city" is particularly attractive to people who work long and irregular hours. He mentions

* Elizabeth Wood, "Public Housing," in *Planning 1958,* American Society of Planning Officials.

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"newspapermen, radio and television people," but forgets the many times more numerous low-income service workers employed in the central city. This same distortion of perspective—with "organization man" filling the foreground of the picture—becomes even more emphatic when the author can think of no better example to illustrate the "return to the city" than the President of the Koppers Company.

Mr. Whyte, just like the designers of redevelopment projects whom he so sharply criticizes, refuses to see that the attempt to lure upper- and middle-income groups "back to the city" by millions of federal subsidies implies displacing even greater numbers of low-income families. This despite the fact that another article in the book, by Daniel Seligman, entitled "The Enduring Slums," states the facts with unusual candor: "The net effect of redevelopment, then, is almost always a big reduction in the neighborhood's total population, and a consequent increase in the population pressure on nearby neighborhoods . . . the neighborhood's old residents . . . will inevitably pile into other areas . . . and create new slums . . . slum clearance and redevelopment can become self-defeating." He recognizes that "this pressure helps make slum property immensely profitable," that the "Title I program [redevelopment] . . . pays an unwarranted subsidy, or tribute, to slum landlords," and that "no matter what the cities do . . . they cannot lick the slums without new housing." But he does not see any connection between these facts and the enthusiasm for "redevelopment" coupled with complete indifference or hostility towards any program for new low-rent housing on the scale required to "lick the slums," or on any scale for that matter. The fact, which he notes, that "Congressmen tend to think small about city housing" remains unexplained. Instead, a great part of the blame for the spread of slums is put on the failure of rural migrants to learn urban ways of living. The very real faults of the United States public housing program—the demoralizing income limits, the crowding of children into huge elevator blocks, the regimentation—are duly criticized, without any recognition that they result from the limitations imposed on public housing by its enemies.

A number of other approaches to housing are succinctly analyzed and their shortcomings noted. Seligman declares: "No anti-slum program will ever succeed unless it is backed heavily by private capital." But he recognizes that "private capital has not been attracted." He states "that it would cost something like $100 billion, spread over a ten-year period, to wipe out slums." This would be one fifth of our

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ten-year expenditure for international insecurity. But the author concludes: "Obviously, we must settle for something considerably less."

Thus the chapter dealing with the worst problem of the metropolis, the slum, ends on a pessimistic note.

The chapter on the traffic problem, by Francis Bello, entitled "The City and the Car," presents an incisive analysis, rich in significant factual information, of the changing roles of public transit and the private car, resulting from and leading to a changed distribution of places of residence, work, shopping, and recreation. Bello succinctly sums up this change: "Today, the average American uses public transit only fifty-four times a year, compared to 115 times in the late Twenties. In constant (1956) dollars, Americans now spend only $1.5 billion a year on transit and rail commuting, compared to $1.8 billion in 1929. Over the same period their total out-of-pocket expenditures on automobile transportation climbed from about $10 billion (also 1956 dollars) to $27 billion a year. And about half this amount is spent on driving within cities."

The author states the argument for countering this trend: forty thousand people per hour can be moved on one subway track, compared with, at most, 3000 on one expressway lane and about 800 on one ordinary street lane. Moreover, "it will never be possible to provide parking space in the largest cities for all the motorists who want to come to them. There wouldn't be anything left worth coming to."

Against this Bello puts forth the case for commuting to the city center by private automobile. He has found that, contrary to universal belief, people even in the largest American cities can still drive from the city center to the suburbs during the evening rush hour at a pretty good speed, averaging 20 miles per hour. This compares with an average of 13 miles per hour for transit. Only suburban trains are considerably faster, average 34 miles in New York and San Francisco. But only a small percentage of commuters use suburban trains, and the railroads are losing money in their operation.

They cannot raise fares without losing their remaining customers to the private car. Bello found that the total cost of commuting is only slightly higher for the private car than for the transit rider: five versus four cents per mile. However, he does not take into account the cost of downtown parking. More importantly and significantly, he does not mention the social cost of flooding the city with automobiles: the accidents, the air pollution, the nervous wear and tear, the interference with pedestrian (and truck and bus) moving, the disruption

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of the compactness of the central area which is indispensable for the functioning of the web of personal contacts which is the very reason for the existence of a center. These social costs would more than justify treating urban transit as a public service supplied at public expense but the author concludes "that it would be unwise to subsidize new transit facilities on a large scale when there are so many other urban needs competing for public funds." No mention of the many non-needs which absorb funds.

Bello does not doubt—and there is indeed no reason to doubt—that scores of billions will be available in federal funds for building highways, as well as private funds for operating cars on them; and that more cars will come downtown. He acknowledges that they must park somewhere—and still leave some room for buildings and for pedestrians to get in and out of them. He discusses various proposals for segregating the automobile and thereby creating "pedestrian islands" downtown, in particular the most consistent and imaginative of these schemes, Victor Gruen's plan for Fort Worth. This plan would raise the floor of the entire central business district, transforming the area presently at street level into a huge parking basement for 60,000 cars. The idea of grade separation of pedestrian and vehicular traffic is sound and not so novel as it sounds. Leonardo da Vinci proposed it. Long before the Renaissance, the Lake Dwellers did it; and the last and greatest of the Lake Dweller towns, Venice, demonstrates to this day its attractiveness. Bello notes that even with this radical solution for a relatively small metropolis (estimated future population of Fort Worth is 1.2 million) only half of the commuters could drive; half would still have to use transit. He also notes that the proposal has little chance of being realized—again because of the cost.

With all alternatives rejected as impractical, the only possible prognosis for the woes of central city congestion can be—more of the same. And it is hardly more than wishful thinking when Bello concludes: "It should be possible to develop an automobile metropolis that still has a heart and can provide fresh opportunities for those who live both within and without."

It is with this "heart of the city" that the book's last chapter is concerned. Entitled "Downtown is for People," written by Jane Jacobs, with some keen observations by Grady Clay, and with charming illustrations, it is the most enjoyable and lively chapter in this very lively and readable little book. Evidently Miss Jacobs not only "likes cities," but also likes the people she meets in their streets. (This, presumably,

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puts her into the category of the "slightly odd" whom her chief editor found in the city.) Essentially her essay is a plea for the life of the street. As such, it ignores her colleagues' prognosis which indicates that all downtown streets will be plugged by cars, half of their frontages occupied by parking garages, and their sidewalks cut up by vehicles entering and leaving these garages. Miss Jacobs pleads against the fashionable huge redevelopment projects consisting of imposing towers set in vast empty malls. These, she remarks, "will have all the attributes of a well-kept, dignified cemetery." By contrast, "the street works harder than any other part of downtown. It is the nervous system; it communicates the flavor, the feel, the sights." She is right in remarking that the tendency to become more densely concentrated is a fundamental quality of downtown and also in stating that the large city is the habitat of the small, specialized enterprise—a fact, incidentally, which was noted a century ago by Karl Marx. She pleads for variety, for "old buildings mixed with new . . . high-yield, middling-yield, low-yield, and no-yield enterprises." This variety she finds in the most attractive existing city streets, and she recognizes that it is threatened by new construction because "its inexorable economy is fatal to hundreds of enterprises able to make out successfully only in old buildings." Again she is right but why then are cities so stupid as to go in for large-scale redevelopment projects?

Miss Jacobs quotes all the reasons given by the project advocates, but she still seems to consider as the decisive reason that "citizens . . . are so fascinated by the sheer process of rebuilding that the end results are secondary to them." This strange idealistic interpretation is hardly supported by the evidence. The fascination lies rather in the millions of Federal bounty available under "Tittle I." The huge projects are fascinating to the real estate owner who can get rid of run-down properties not saleable in the normal market, to the developer and builder who can get a downtown building site cheaply, most of all to the City Fathers, harassed by financial difficulties, whom it enables to get rid of slum dwellers—who do not pay much in taxes and require a lot of services—and to replace them with well-heeled "middle-income" households with few children. Redevelopment also provides fascinating jobs and commissions for planners and architects—but their influence is hardly decisive.

Despite all these pressures, it may happen that Miss Jacobs' prayers will be heard and the monumental central city projects will remain

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on the drawing boards. Fortunately there are still many Congressmen who believe that redevelopment is "socialism."

Of course there will always be, as there is now, much rebuilding downtown. If, but only if, the flood of automobiles is kept out by a combination of improved transit and the segregation—horizontally or vertically—of driving and parking from walking, we may still achieve the lively, enjoyable downtown on the human scale which Miss Jacobs so vividly describes. If so, her sensitive remarks on civic design will be relevant.

All the chapters heretofore discussed concentrate on the relatively small inner core of the metropolis. William Whyte's chapter on "Urban Sprawl" deals with the vast outer area where an increasing majority of the metropolitan population is and will be living and working. However, he is concerned not with shaping the urban development which is going on in this area—the most crucial problem of the metropolis—but with the preservation of the open land beyond, which is threatened by this "sprawling" development. This land is threatened because of the "leap-frog nature of urban growth" which Whyte demonstrates to be against everybody's interest. He does not explain that it occurs because the "leaped-over" land is held in speculative hope of higher prices. Yet this is the core of the matter. Even where planners have legal powers to prohibit development outside a defined suitable area, they cannot exercise that power effectively because to do so creates monopolistic land prices in the defined area. Any planning decision shifts values from one piece of land to another. This creates difficulties also in the reservation of open land. Whyte is right in stating that there is far more land available in metropolitan areas than will ever be used. But as it is not known which land will be developed and which will not, this development value remains "floating," in the language of the British Uthwatt Report. Whenever some piece is reserved as "open," its development value floats away and settles on the land not so reserved, whose owners receive a windfall. If the land is reserved as open by zoning, its owner takes the loss; if it is reserved by public acquisition, the public takes the loss. Whyte feels, not without reason, that it is inequitable to use zoning to transfer value from one owner to another (though all zoning may do that). He does not seem to consider it inequitable that the public should buy development rights only where it does *not* want to use them, without buying them where it might develop them profitably for urban uses. The loss is to be publicly owned, the gain privately.

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It must be admitted that it is preferable for the public to take this loss rather than to do nothing and let the last available open land be despoiled. Whyte points out that 50 to 100 years ago American cities did acquire large areas for parks on what was then their periphery. He states that much of the land to be reserved now could remain in farming. If it were publicly owned, this could, of course, be accomplished by leasing it back to the farmers. However, Whyte proposes that the public should leave title in the present owner and merely buy "development rights." There may be cases where this is the easier way: gentlemen farmers value their titles for reasons of prestige and as a tax-dodging device. But normally the "development rights" method will not be substantially cheaper and has important drawbacks. Access to the land will be permanently barred. While urban land uses are excluded, there is no way of preventing the owner from undesirable forms of farming. Most important, if the public at any future date wants to develop the land for any purpose, it must buy it all over again. In correspondence with this writer, Whyte states that he feels that outright acquisition, in particular by condemnation, would not be politically acceptable. He may be right, and certainly his campaign for acquisition of development rights deserves full support. But it is food for thought that something that was done without hesitation 50 to 100 years ago is no longer "acceptable." Similarly, a century ago Philadelphia could extend its area from 2 to 130 square miles, and half a century ago a "super-government" could be set up by the five boroughs of New York; but today any substantial change in municipal boundaries is "not acceptable." Apparently the American body politic is afflicted with progressive hardening of the arteries.

None of this seems to bother Seymour Freedgood who wrote the book's chapter on municipal government, entitled "New Strength in City Hall." In contrast to the alarm sounded by all the other chapters of the book, which deal with the actual physical development of the metropolis, this one, dealing with the government primarily responsible for this development, is not alarmed at all but positively enthusiastic. The chapter contains a well-informed analysis of the complex power relations and functions in municipal government, its failures and achievements. While some of the author's enthusiasms may be questioned, he is right in saying that the administration of most large American cities has greatly improved and generally consists of able and well-intentioned men.

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Why then have these able men not changed the alarming course of events described in the other chapters? What prevents them? What is required to do the job? The *Fortune* editors do not raise this question. Yet it is not too difficult to define the conditions which are both necessary and sufficient to solve the problems of metropolitan development. They are: (1) Metropolitan government; (2) adequate financial resources; (3) public ownership of all or most of the development land; and (4) a large program of public housing on open land.

These conditions do not require socialism; all of them have been realized in capitalist democracies.

Metropolitan government functions in Toronto.

In practically all European countries a considerably greater percentage of the Gross National Product goes into municipal services. The glaring contrast between private wealth and public poverty is nowhere as great as in the United States.

Most Scandinavian cities own their development land. Nearer home, the Canadian government is acquiring a greenbelt around Ottawa and holds sizeable, though insufficient, pieces of development land in other metropolitan areas.

Most European countries have provided publicly financed housing for large masses of their people, even though none has yet "licked the slums."

Explicitly or implicitly, the authors of *The Exploding Metropolis* reject these solutions. Their critique is sharp, but their proposals are timid or utopian, often both.

Despite these shortcomings, this book is the best introduction to the problems of metropolitan development yet written or soon likely to be written. It will start the reader thinking; and readers of MR at least, will not stop their thinking at the line which limits the horizon of the editors of *Fortune*.

Only a society which makes possible the harmonious cooperation of its productive forces on the basis of one single vast plan can allow industry to settle in whatever form of distribution over the whole country is best adapted to its own development and the maintenance of development of the other elements of production.

Friedrich Engels, *Anti-Dühring*

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WORLD EVENTS

By Scott Nearing

The Empty Bean Pot

Perhaps the most harassing among the many contradictions that bedevil mankind is the tendency of spending to exceed income. We see it in personal affairs. It prevails in public finance. During the first three months of 1959 we have watched and listened to Mayor Wagner, of the richest city in the world, Governor Rockefeller, of the richest state in North America, and President Eisenhower, of the richest nation on earth, demanding higher taxes and more borrowing to meet the insatiable demands of public spending.

"There is nothing sure but death and taxes," runs an old saying. Through the ages livelihood, health, and happiness have been eaten away by the Grim Reaper and by tax collectors. The act is being repeated today in the richest country in the world.

Researcher Stanley H. Ruttenberg and his staff have issued an AFL-CIO publication (No. 80) entitled *State and Local Taxes*. The report contains a detailed analysis of government spending (federal, state, and local) in the United States during the past half century. Here is a summary of their findings.

Government Spending in Selected Peacetime Years
(millions of dollars)

1902	$ 1,564
1922	8,829
1932	12,830
1940	19,500
1950	66,244
1956	112,474

At the beginning of the period, 30 percent of the expenditures were federal, 11 percent state, and 58 percent local. In 1956, 65 percent were federal, 16 percent state, and 19 percent local.

Taxes have been levied and public money has been spent in a rapidly rising curve. Since 1902 the amount has increased sharply in each decade. In 1956 it was 70 times the 1902 figure. Between

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1930 and 1956, United States population increased by 35 percent. Gross National Product rose 190 percent. Taxes (government spending) mushroomed from $12,830 million in 1932 to $112,474 million in 1956—a rise of 780 percent, or twenty-two times as rapidly as the population. If matters proceed at this same pace and direction during the next twenty-five years, the entire United States economy will be mortgaged to the tax collectors.

This is no new experience. Through the ages voracious tax gatherers have first emptied the pockets, then stripped off the clothing, and finally sold the bodies of their hapless victims into peonage and slavery in their vain attempts to fill the yawning abyss of an empty public treasury. In the process, taxes have risen sky-high, debt has grown to unmanageable proportions, prices have been inflated beyond the buying power of the multitude, currency has been debased, and the bankrupt societies have floundered helplessly into dark ages of poverty, disease, and ignorance.

There are four quite simple explanations of this cycle from riches to rags. First there is the limitless nature of human wants. Men begin by asking for food and shelter. They end by demanding strings of pearls for their women and diamond-studded collars for their dogs. Second comes the growth of cities with their sky-rocketing overhead costs. The bigger the city, the greater the overhead. Third, there are the self-defeating contradictions of an acquisitive competitive society. Finally, there is the increasing ratio of parasitism, waste, and destructivity over productivity.

We have no space here for a survey of the rise and decline of civilization. We have attempted this in *The Tragedy of Empire*. In our review of present-day social trends we are merely trying to point out that the current efforts of the Mayor of New York City, the Governor of New York State, and the President of the United States to stave off city, state, and national bankruptcy are part of the latest effort to keep a beanpot full by dropping in two beans each day and taking out three.

Easy Money

One of our neighbors, a middle-aged woman, was brought up to believe that she should limit her spending to cash on hand and never borrow. Wanting to make some minor improvements in her house, she called in a builder who estimated that the changes would cost about $1500. "I would like to have the work done," she told the builder, "but I must wait until I have the money."

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"But why wait?" the builder queried. "Why not get the money now from your bank."

Hesitatingly, the woman approached the president of her local bank, who radiated cheer and satisfaction. "Why, of course," he answered. "That is what we are here for."

Within five minutes the woman had a credit in her bank book for $1500. The cost? A mere five percent—and "you may pay back whenever you find it convenient." Our neighbor was delighted by her pleasant encounter with the banker. "It was so *easy,*" she confided. "If you want to improve your property, let the bank do it. They take care of everything."

Banks thrive on debt. The more credit they lend, the more interest they collect. Debt is their stock in trade.

If debt is the banker's stock in trade, the United States, in 1959, should be a banker's paradise, because it has the biggest debt volume on earth. *The Economic Report of the President,* published in January, 1959 (Government Printing Office, Washington 25, 75c.) estimates the 1958 total of public and private debt in the United States at $757,900,000,000. A third of this debt is "public"—$232 billion federal and $51 billion state and local government debt. A third is owed by corporations—$236 billion. A third is individual and non-corporate—farm mortgages and production loans ($22 billion), other mortgages ($144 billion), commercial debts ($27 billion), and consumer debt ($45 billion). United States debt has sky-rocketed in recent years. According to the *Economic Report* it was $191 billion in 1930, $190 billion in 1940, $490 in 1950, $672 in 1955, and $758 billion in 1958. Thus debt quadrupled in the 18 years from 1940 to 1958.

Our neighbor borrowed $1500 and paid her banker-benefactor $75 for the loan. If on the average the same 5 percent interest rate applies to the total $758 billion United States debt, borrowers during 1958 paid lenders the handsome sum of $38 billion. What a paradise for bankers and other usurers!

America First

Admiral Stump of the Seventh United States Fleet is reported to have told Congressmen that we should not even consider returning Okinawa to Japan. Said he, "We have a billion dollar investment there in military buildings, installations, and arms." He added, "We have Okinawa for one reason and that is for our own defense."

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"Golden Ghetto" was the phrase used by the *New York Times* (February 7, 1959) to describe the barbed wire enclosure which surrounds local United States personnel who live in South Korea on a standard the average native cannot even approach in his wildest dreams.

Okinawa and Korea are on the other side of the Pacific, 6000 miles from California and the United States West Coast. Yet these two territories are part of the United States Far East "defense perimeter." Across the Eurasian heartland, in Spain, Turkey, Britain and other areas of Europe, North Africa, and the Near East, billions of dollars have been poured into similar military installations, and United States personnel live on a standard which lifts them far above the average of native livelihood.

"America First" is an unworthy goal and a disreputable slogan even in the Western Hemisphere. Uttered and institutionalized in Asia, Europe, and Africa it is a concept against which the world is turning with abhorrence and loathing, and against which in the long run the world must surely revolt.

Joyous, Productive, Creative Labor

One day before Christmas, on December 24, 1958, the Soviet parliament (Supreme Soviet) passed a "law on strengthening the ties of school with life." "The gulf between mental and manual labor was one of the main vices of the old society," reads the preamble to this Soviet law. Even with advances in technology, "manual labor will stay. The harmonious development of the human being is unthinkable without manual labor, the kind of labor that is creative and joyous, the kind of labor that strengthens the body and enhances its vital powers."

United States newsmen, stalled in Hong Kong, report that one of the new wrinkles in People's China is to have the members of the intelligentsia and persons holding jobs in the public service spend at least one month a year doing manual work. The pattern extends to the military. Officers up to generals and admirals are devoting at least one month a year to daily routine among the privates. Chinese schools, like those in the Soviet Union, are asking students to divide time between school and productive work.

Westerners are doing their best to get away from work. Easterners are introducing work to their children and insisting that all of them take part in joyous, productive, creative labor.

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An Alternative to TV

Millions of Americans sprawled and gawking in front of television sets must have been shocked by a recent United Press dispatch from Moscow which reported that of 180 world records set and individual championships decided during 1958, the USSR won 75, the United States 12. They must have been even more disturbed to learn that Soviet sport authorities lay these gains (1) to extensive physical culture training in schools; (2) to the extensive facilities for sports—fields, gymnasiums, and clubs—all over the Soviet Union; (3) to careful, persistent, rigorous training.

There is a Department of Sport in the Soviet government and in each of the governments of the fifteen republics which compose the Soviet Union. Millions of Soviet men and women, young, middle-aged, and old, are enrolled in sports clubs and organizations in every Soviet community. When tryouts for the 1956 Olympics were announced, twenty million Soviet sports fans took part. An even larger number is expected to participate in the 1960 Olympics tryouts.

Television viewing leads to inaction and atrophy. Participation is the path to world championships.

More, Faster, Better, More Economical

Sensational reports concerning "more, faster, better, and more economical" developments in People's China continue to reach us—by word of mouth, through private letters, and in the public prints.

Dr. Charles E. Hendry, Director of the School of Social Work in the University of Toronto, Canada, comments. "Never before have I witnessed such mobilization of human energy, mental and manual, such fanatical dedication or such incredible achievements. . . ."(*The Canadian Far Eastern News Letter*, February, 1959)

President James Muir of the Royal Bank of Canada summed up the impressions of his China visit: "The growth in industry, the change in living standards, the modernization of everything and anything, the feats of human effort and the colossal impact of human labor . . . must be seen to be believed. It's truly stupendous."

Eight publications are reporting extensively, in English, on Chinese events: *New World Review,* 34 W. 15 Street, New York 11, N. Y.; *Canadian Far Eastern Newsletter,* 232 Wychwood Ave., Toronto 10, Ontario, Canada; *The Far East Reporter,* P.O. Box 1536, New York 17, N. Y.; *Monthly Review,* 66 Barrow St., New York 14, N. Y.; *The Labour Monthly,* 134 Ballard's Lane, London, N. 3,

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England. These five can be secured by writing directly to the publishing offices. *Peking Review, China Reconstructs,* and *China Pictorial,* all printed in Peking, purportedly contain "propaganda" and so cannot enter the United States without a special import license. All three are well edited, printed, and illustrated. They can be secured from Imported Publications and Products, 34 West 16 Street, New York 11, N. Y.

Even the papers owned and operated by United States Big Business are printing news about China's tempestuous advance. A recent special story dated from Hong Kong and printed in the sports section of the *New York Times* (February 22, 1959) was devoted entirely to the expansion of sports in People's China, where there is a National Physical Culture and Sports Commission. Outdoor stadia, indoor arenas, sport fields, skating ponds and swimming pools are springing up all across the country. Old and young alike are urged to prevent disease and improve health through physical culture. Twice daily the radio calls for a physical culture break during which everyone from housewives to office and factory workers is expected to relax, fill his lungs with fresh air, and take part in setting-up exercises. During 1957, 13 million Chinese engaged in regular sports activities. In 1958 the number multiplied by ten, to 130 million.

One aspect of China's great leap forward during 1958 has received little notice in the West. Millions of Chinese are writing poems and setting them to music. A favorite form is a four line couplet which is chanted in unison. *Canadian Far Eastern Newsletter* for February, 1956, printed one of these couplets which Vice President Kuo Mo-jo heard on a cooperative farm during a visit in late 1958. The theme of the song is the bamboo carrying pole and the wicker baskets with which such prodigies of earth moving and construction have been achieved:

My pole is only seven foot three,
My crates are wicker, as you see,
But don't despise this tackle, pray—
It moved two mountains yesterday!

All the qualities of man acquire dignity when he knows that the service of the collectivity that owns him needs them. If proud of the collectivity, his own pride rises in proportion.

—William James, *The Moral Equivalent of War*

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(*continued from inside front cover*)

"Marxism and Culture." The Chairman will be Dr. J. Raymond Walsh, Chairman of MR Associates. The special place is the New York Center, a beautiful, carpeted, plush-seated auditorium—by far the pleasantest we have ever secured for one of our meetings. We have no doubt that there will be a capacity audience on hand, and we urge you all to get tickets for yourselves and friends as soon as possible. Details in the box below.

Just a year ago in this space we announced the establishment of The Fund for Social Analysis to provide grants-in-aid for studies of problems posed by Marxist theory and its application. We are happy to be able to report that the Fund has successfully completed its first year of operation and is now accepting applications for grants to be awarded during the remainder of 1959. The amounts will ordinarily range from $500 to $3000, and may be requested for all or any part of a project, or for assistance in research, editing, or publication. For information and further particulars, please address the Corresponding Secretary, The Fund for Social Analysis, Room 2800, 165 Broadway, New York 6, N. Y.

We sometimes get a notice of change of address during the last week of a month followed by an indignant letter the next month that the latest issue was not delivered to the new address. We are always sorry when this happens, but we can't help it. Please note that a change of address MUST reach us before the 15th of the month if the next issue is to be mailed to the new address. Please note the following too: In the summer, July and August are combined in a single double issue which should reach subscribers shortly after the first of July. If you are going away later in July or August, you will *not* need to change your address for the summer because the next issue you will get will be September which will reach you after Labor Day.

Our favorite letter of the month comes from a fellow publisher, Lawrence Hill of Hill and Wang, Inc.: "I have just finished reading your editorial on the Chinese Communes [in the February issue] and feel impelled to write a pure and simple fan letter. You have done a brilliant job of interpreting recent events in China, of penetrating the maze of verbiage about China and coming up with the only logical explanation of the remarkable progress that has been made there. I did not require your editorial to be convinced that slave labor was not the key to Chinese progress, but the way in which you have assembled the available facts from sources that are not blinded by cold-war hysteria clarified many problems for me. I was particularly impressed by the conclusion of your editorial in which you tackle the question of individual freedom in a society struggling toward collectivism."

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STANLEY MOORE—Marxism and Culture

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